Special ROTC Edition

Editorial: The Case For Abolition

By STEVE EARLY
Managing Editor

The Report on ROTC at Middlebury which appears in this issue was produced by a committee formed by the Faculty last winter and composed of six Faculty members and two students.

On February 3, 1969 the Faculty passed by a narrow margin two resolutions expressing its belief that military science courses should be denied academic credit and that ROTC instructors should be deprived of their faculty voting status.

To explore the possibility of alternative ROTC programs which would incorporate these changes, the Faculty also voted to create the ad hoc committee to meet with representatives of the Army and return with recommendations for further action.

Intensive Discussion

The Faculty vote came after a semester of intensive student and faculty discussion of ROTC's status here. Throughout last fall and winter, **The Campus**, the Mobilization for Peace, and the now-defunct Middlebury SDS chapter repeatedly demanded that ROTC be reduced to the level of an extra-curricular activity, without course credit or academic titles for its staff.

The Student Senate, the Student Educational Policy Committee, and the Faculty Educational Policy Committee all adopted similar positions.

Army Delay

In March, acting on behalf of the newly formed ROTC committee, President Armstrong wrote to the Army and requested that a "high level team" be sent to Middlebury to discuss possible alternatives to the present program. When the Army delayed in responding for a full month, and then (after another letter and a phone call from Armstrong) indicated its unwillingness to immediately send representatives to Middlebury, student sentiment against ROTC increased.

At the May 5th Faculty meeting, over 200 students appeared and presented a statement expressing impatience with the Army's delay. The students reiterated their demand that the ROTC program be made extra-curricular, without credit, faculty titles, or status as a regular department of instruction.

Modified Program

Nine days later, Colonel Curtis Livingston, a representative of the Army Department, came to Middlebury and met with the ROTC committee. On the basis of its discussions with him and its own examination of the College's contract with the Army, a majority of the Committee decided that it was possible for Middlebury to have a military science program in accord with the guidelines established by the Faculty's vote in February.

The committee's report outlined how such a program could be established but when it was formally submitted to the Faculty at a special meeting on May 26 the committee recommended that any further action be deferred until the fall.

Now, after the panel presentation scheduled for tomorrow night, and the student poll next week, the committee will make final recommendations at a special open meeting of the Faculty on October 6. This will result in a vote leading to the termination of ROTC or its continuation in a modified form consistant with the Faculty's stand on the issues of credit and faculty status.

I. QUESTIONING ROTC

There has only been one flaw in the college community's entire re-examination of the ROTC question and unfortunately it is a major flaw.

Neither the faculty nor the students have dealt with ROTC on anything but narrowly academic grounds. Both groups, the Faculty particularly, objected to the program for various educational reasons: ROTC instructors are appointed and employed by the Army, the content of Military Science courses dictated by the Secretary of the Army, the courses are not subject to consideration by the Curriculum Committee or final approval by the Faculty, etc.

The Faculty last spring scrupulously avoided not only the implications of denying credit and faculty voting status (which affects what the program and its personnel will be called) but also any discussion of the larger implications of ROTC's very presence on the campus.

Certainly ROTC courses should not carry academic credit and ROTC instructors should not have titles and faculty voting status which they could not have earned under ordinary circumstances.

But whether or not the Army has actually agreed to the constraints imposed by the Faculty last February, whether or not ROTC will be part of the curriculum or extra-curricular, a regular department of instruction or a "special instructional program," really doesn't matter.

The Reserve Officer Training Corps does not belong on this campus in any form, under any name.

2. THE CONTRACT

ROTC is a program which compromises the College's very integrity as an independent academic institution and an institution supposedly devoted to liberal learning. For when Middlebury, or any other school, de-

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THE CAMPUS

VOL. LXV MIDDLEBURY, VERMONT, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1969 NO. 1

Report Of The Ad Hoc Committee On ROTC

The Ad Hoc Committee would like to report to the Faculty at this time. It wishes to communicate certain actions taken and to indicate the two alternatives open to the Faculty with respect to ROTC.

First, the Committee has carried out the instructions of the Faculty to meet with the representatives of the Army and to explore the alternative Military Science programs available. The central concern of the Committee at this point is to communicate to the Faculty the dimensions of the alternatives open to it — continue in present form, institute a modified program or terminate — so that effective consideration may begin and may begin at the earliest possible moment.

Second, the Committee wishes to report that it has by vote (6-1) recorded its understanding that the Army has agreed to accept the constraint, "that academic credit should not be granted to Military Science courses," as voted at the Faculty Meeting of February 3, 1969.

Third, the Committee wishes to report that it has by vote (6-1) recorded its understanding that the Army has agreed to accept the constraint, "that voting faculty status should not be granted to members of the Military Science Department," voted at the Faculty Meeting of February 3, 1969. The Committee wants it clearly understood, however, that the term "voting faculty status" required interpretation before the above understanding could be recorded. The Committee interprets "voting faculty status" to mean voting status **in Faculty Meeting**. This interpretation does not rule out, however, voting status on any Faculty committees or committee, and most particularly any Faculty committee dealing with matters having a direct impact on ROTC. The distinction between a vote in Faculty Meeting and a vote in a Committee meeting would seem well established already. Perhaps the best example of the existing distinction is the vote of students — on Faculty committees, but not in Faculty Meetings. In short the Committee believes that its definition represents precisely the understanding of the term "voting faculty status" held by the Faculty.

Further, the Committee wishes to report that it felt obligated to recognize other relevant considerations or constraints not within the guides given it by the Faculty. The broad responsibilities implicit in the charge assigned simply could not be conscientiously discharged unless attention was given to these additional matters. The stimuli for attending to these considerations came from one or more of the following sources: a significant segment of student and/or Faculty opinion, the specifications of the US legal code providing for ROTC, the dimensions of the ROTC contract between the Army and the College, the information presented to the Committee by Colonel Curtis Livingston during his visit of May 14th, and the deliberations of the Committee itself as it pondered the complex dimensions of ROTC. The additional considerations to which thoughtful attention has been given are:

1. **The problem of designating and describing ROTC work in the College Catalogue or other publication.**
2. **The difficulties involved in applying the terms "curricular" and "extra-curricular" to ROTC.**
3. **The developing of a Faculty Committee to maintain an overview of ROTC insofar as it affects on dimensions of Campus activities of concern to the Faculty.**
4. **The question of scheduling ROTC classes during regular class hours or outside them.**
5. **The responsibilities of the College to students involved in ROTC should the Faculty recommend termination.**
6. **The propriety and significance of the rank of "Professor" for the senior officer of the Military Science staff.**
7. **The nature of the broadest basic guides to be used in taking a position on ROTC (discussion very limited here, but recognition of it should be given).**

The central points of Committee deliberation on each of these considerations should be reported to the Faculty in order that the fullest possible sense of the ROTC situation should be in mind.

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ROTC Report . . .

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Designation And Description

The Committee recognized that ROTC could not properly exist, as a Department of Military Science within the Departments of Instruction of Middlebury College if its course offerings neither carried credit nor were a requirement for all students. The Army has agreed, however, by telephone to a descriptive label used by the Committee in its discussions: "Program in Military Science." Should the Faculty choose to continue ROTC on a modified basis, a section of the College Catalogue separate from the Departments of Instruction and their offerings would be used to describe the Program structure and its implementation. ROTC would be, in essence, a "special program" available to interested students, and the Committee has at different times used that phrase in describing what was in mind. The present ROTC requirements would remain in force for the time being within the Program in Military Science, but the Committee expects that the "New ROTC Plan" will shortly be made available. This new plan reduces the contact hours in military courses to slightly above 50 percent of present level, and extends substantially the discretion of the senior ROTC officer to accept credit-bearing courses regularly offered by the Departments of Instruction to meet the non-military course requirements of ROTC. Finally, the senior ROTC officer on Campus would be designated "Director of the Program in Military Science."

Curricular And Extra-curricular

The program described above is not extra-curricular, nor is it fully curricular. The Committee describes as "curricular" the courses of instruction and/or major programs offered by the Departments of Instruction of the College — courses and programs which lead to the A.B. Degree. The modified ROTC Program would not be a Department of Instruction, would offer no courses for credit, and would not offer a major; hence, it would be outside the curriculum, or "non-curricula." Students enrolling in ROTC, however, are required to complete all College requirements leading to the A.B. degree, and in addition, their election of courses is limited to a degree by the necessity to enroll in a certain number of courses chosen from an approved list. While this list does provide numerous alternatives, the existence of a constraint not imposed on students outside ROTC should be recognized. To the extent that ROTC requires the meeting of all requirements for an A.B. degree and does govern a student's choice of courses to some extent, it is "curricular." Surely, however, it is not extra-curricular, for no extra-curricular activity offered at Middlebury binds a student to a curricular program or governs his choice of courses. The Committee believes that designating or designing the ROTC Program as "extra-curricular" would effectively remove it from Faculty influence or control — and at a time when **increased** Faculty overview, rather than **diminished** is called for. The Army has made it abundantly clear that "extra-curricular" status is unacceptable. The Program in Military Science conceived is, to repeat, a "special" program, and its approval or disapproval by the Faculty and other entities concerned should be based on a consideration of its particular merits and defects and not upon the degree to which it meets individual conceptions of the words "curricular" or "extra-curricular." Granted, the legal code specifies that "the institution accepts as part of its curriculum a four-year course of military instruction or a two-year course of advanced training of military instruction or both, - - - -". But the word curriculum is undefined in the code and it is subject to differing interpretation by knowledgeable Faculty and Administrators. Should the Faculty and Trustees vote the program, the Army would simply have to decide whether or not what had been voted fell within its sense of the meaning of the law. There are certain indications that a favorable interpretation would be made.

Faculty Commttee To Oversee ROTC

The Committee believes that the existence of a Faculty Committee charged with the responsibility for a continuing overview of ROTC would be of benefit to both the Faculty and the ROTC program. There can be no question that there is deep interest in and concern about ROTC on the part of the Faculty and the student body. A Faculty Committee could be justified simply on the grounds of providing information about ROTC to the Faculty though the media of reports. However, the fact that increasing flexibility and discretion is being built into ROTC provides a basis for Faculty influence being exerted in directions consistent with the general interests of the College. To the degree that ROTC needs endosement for arrangements accommodating it into the life of the College, it can benefit from the advice and support of the Faculty operating through a Committee or as a body.

Scheduling Of ROTC Classes

If there are to be ROTC classes, it would seem that they should be scheduled during the hours allocated for courses carrying academic credit and required courses carrying no academic credit, i.e., those in Physical Education. This block of hours should lead to a minimum of complications, especially with a four-course curriculum in contrast to the fomer five. Both time and space should be available — and more readily available than if ROTC courses were required to be scheduled after normal class hours, i.e., after 4:00 p.m. and evenings. The probability of a conflict between ROTC and the intercollegiate and intramural athletic programs, the rehearsals of drama and music groups, the appearances of a large number of speakers from both inside and outside the College, and the substantial number of club and organization meetings seemed much higher outside regular class hours than inside.

Responsibilities Of Students In ROTC In Event Of Termination

The Committee did weigh the matter of the College's responsibility to its students in ROTC should termination be decided on. Either party to the contract may terminate it on the basis of one academic year's notice to the other. This arrangement would assure all Juniors in ROTC that they could complete their studies at Middlebury without losing their expected commissions. No other legal obligation exists should termination come.

On the other hand, Committee members did recognize that in view of certain individuals, obligations to lower class students in ROTC existed in terms of the good faith and integrity of Middlebury College. The Committee took no position vis-a-vis the College's responsibility to students in the event of termination.

Propriety And Significance Of Rank Of Professor For Senior ROTC Officer

The legal code and the Army contract with Middlebury call for the rank of "Professor" for the senior ROTC officer, at least at the moment. The Committee is informed that changes in the legal code are in process on this specific point and a decision is anticipated in the near future. Of course "the near future" (Colonel Livingston's words) is still further away than many of the Faculty and students prefer and there is no absolute certainty that the Congress of the United States can be counted on to act. It would seem clear that Middlebury will simply have to accept the rank of "Professor" for this officer for the time being if it wishes to maintain ROTC on any basis. What would seem more substantive, however. is the fact that the Profesor may definitely be non-voting insofar as Faculty meetings are concerned if such be the will of the Faculty and Trustees. In fact, however, the military would apparently prefer to be known by their designated military rank and the privileges and stature indicated thereby rather than their assigned academic rank. The Committee would anticipate the disappearance of all academic rank designations for

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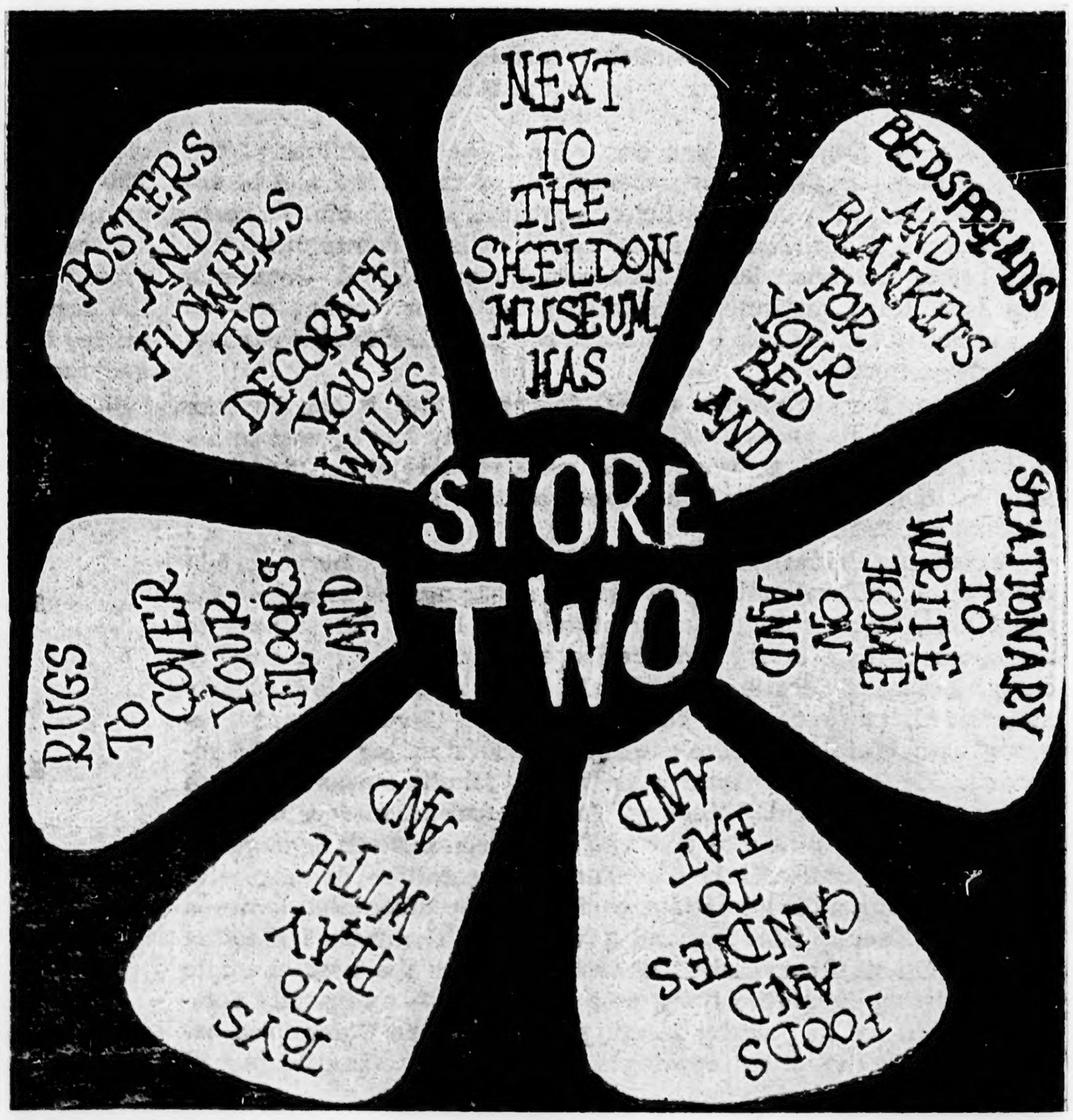
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ROTC Report . . .

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any ROTC staff in the near future, since both the military and the colleges favor this.

General Remarks

The continuation of ROTC on a modified basis should only be voted if the Program in Military Science is, in itself, desirable. Precedents and similarities to other College programs, or indeed the programs of other colleges, should carry little or no weight. The Faculty should approve or disapprove of this Program on the basis of its merits only.

Second, the mere fact that the Committee has developed and will shortly outline a Program which is apparently acceptable to the Army is not an argument for continuation; it does, however, provide a vehicle for continuation should there be positive support for such.

Again repeating, the Committee would like to call attention to its sense that it has seen its mission as neither to save nor kill ROTC. The presentation of a plan through which ROTC might be continued is simply an outgrowth of the charge that alternative ROTC plans of the Army be examined and a report made to the Faculty.

Finally, the Committee recognizes certain logistic problems in the timing of action on ROTC and in the specific nature of the action. While this area is not helpful in considering **which** position to take, it does relate very directly to the furtherance of the position taken. In an age of credibility gaps, it is of utmost important to the Committee that its work be recognized for what it is and not for what it might be. The Committee urges that it has been forthright to all interested parties from the beginning. It urges that to the best of its knowledge there are no hidden meanings or "fait accomplis" in its Report Draft to this point and in the description of the Program of Military Science which follows immediately. Since it urges no position, it hopes that the above statements will be accepted at face value. The central concern of the Committee is to provide all interested parties an adequate opportunity to study and evaluate its Draft and to conduct an appraisal of student sentiment on the continuation or termination of ROTC. If these concerns are not attended to thoughtfully and carefully, there can only be Faculty action which will create one more critically important gap in credibility. The Committee deserves the support of the Faculty in assuring that such does not occur.

Program In Military Science

Should the Faculty of Middlebury College wish to retain ROTC, and retain it consistent with the guiding considerations and specific criteria outlined above, it would have to be on the basis of the following points.

1. The present Department of Military Science would cease to exist as one of the Departments of Instruction of the College.

2. A new section of the Catalogue titled "Program in Military Science" would be created. This section would list among other things the ROTC staff, the requirements faced by those students taking ROTC, the military courses offered, and the non-military credit-carrying courses offered by Departments of Instruction which are acceptable in partial fulfillment of the ROTC requirements. No courses taught by the ROTC staff would carry credit.

3. The senior military officer assigned to the Program would be designated "Direc-

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ROTC Report . . .

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tor of the Program in Military Science." Until congressional action alters the existing relevant legal code, the Director would hold the rank of "Professor," but this rank would in this instance not be accorded voting status in Faculty Meetings. Should the legal code be modified to drop the requirement of this rank, the College would discontinue its use at the end of the academic year involved. The remaining members of the ROTC staff would have neither academic rank nor vote in Faculty Meetings. from the start of the academic year in which the Program takes effect.

4. A Faculty Committee on ROTC would be established. This Committee would examine and make recommendations on all matters of joint concern to the Faculty and the ROTC staff. (The enumeration of specific responsibilities of the Committee is deliberately avoided for fear of omitting any area of concern which is automatically included through a general statement.) The suggested composition of the Committee would be as follows:

a. Four Faculty members, one from each Division, elected for two-year terms, with terms staggered for continuity.

b. Four students, at least one of whom shall be in ROTC, elected by the Student Senate in the spring of their Sophomore or Junior years for one-year terms. (It is assumed that continuity may be taken care of by re-election by the Senate, if in its wisdom it so desires.)

c. The Director of the Military Science Program or his designate should he so choose.

d. The Dean of Men.

All members of the Committee would be voting members. The Committee would elect its own Chairman annually. All Members would be eligible for the Chairmanship.

5. The content of the Progam in Military Science would remain the same as during the 1969-70 College Year for the moment. Should the "new ROTC requirments" now in draft form (or these requirements with modest changes which do not alter substantive content) become available to the College Program in Military Science, they would be adopted at once as guides to be implemented at the earliest practicable time.

6. The military courses offered by the ROTC staff would be scheduled within normal classroom hours on an equal basis with credit-carrying courses offered by Departments of Instruction.

7. The arrangements under which the College makes certain facilities and assistance available to ROTC would presumably continue as at present. (While this area may not be of concern to the Faculty — or of proper concern — it would seem appropriate to record the Faculty's understanding of what will happen in the future in relation to what has happened in the past. There is, however, no intent to bind the College to a pattern of arrangements.)

8. It would be the expectation of the Faculty that the negotiation of a new contract would begin as soon as possible after favorable action by the Trustees, presuming the Faculty votes the program. In turn, the implementation of the new contract would begin as soon as possible after the negotiation of the new contract. The Faculty presumes that the Administration and the Trustees would share its enthisiasm for prompt action in this matter.

This report is respectfully submitted to the Faculty by the Committee.

David K. Smith, Chairman
Frederick C. Cabot
Lt. Col. James C. Hefti
Victor L. Nuovo
Dennis O'Brien
Thomas C. Pierson
Charles W. J. Scaife

Committee member Stephen Early did not sign the Report. He felt that the Army had not agreed to the constraints specified by the Faculty, as noted under the Second and Third points of Page 1. He regrets that time pressures did not permit the development and submission of a Minority Report, but he anticipates drafting one before September should the Faculty defer action on the Majority Report until Fall

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Report Of Faculty Committee On ROTC Covering Activities Since June 1, 1969

The Faculty Committee on ROTC would like to make a report to all interested parties which will cover that time period since submission of its Report of late May, 1969. This is for two purposes: 1) to outline its proposed program of action for September and October, 1969, and 2) to call attention to any developments of interest over the summer.

The plans of the committee are outlined below. They appear chronologically.

1. September 19th (Friday): The ROTC Committee will sponsor an informational meeting in Dana Auditorium at 7:00 p. m. The meeting will be open to all interested persons — students, staff, and faculty. The committee will attempt to outline its work, clarify its Report of late May, and provide meaningful answers to questions from the floor.

2. September 22nd (Monday): An informational poll as to student views on ROTC will be conducted through Dean O'Brien's office.

3. September 24th (Wednesday): ROTC Committee meeting to develop points of agreement as basis for recommendations to the Faculty. The results of the student informational poll should should be available to the Committee at this time. The meeting will be at 4 p. m.

4. September 26th (Friday): a. 9:00 a. m. delivery of draft proposal(s) to Committee members. b. 4:00 p. m. Committee meeting to discuss drafts.

5. September 27th (Saturday): 9:00 a.m. (if necessary) continued discussion of draft(s).

6. September 29th (Monday): Delivery of final copy of draft(s) to secretarial office for publication.

7. October 1st (Wednesday): Mailing of draft(s) to Faculty.

8. October 6th (Monday): Faculty meeting for action on report(s)

9. Thereafter: While the Ad Hoc Committee's work should be completed, action by the Trustees will be pending as will further steps by the Administration as it is decided that the ROTC contract will be cancelled or renegotiated.

The committee would like to call attention to two items of interest which have occurred since last June 1st. These are the letter of June 18, 1969 from Colonel Curtis Livingston expressing his reactions as an individual (in contrast to official Army positions) to the Committee's May Report and the interview of the two incoming ROTC officers by Dean Peterson.

Colonel Livingston's letter is noteworthy for three points. First, he reports that the anticipated Congressional amendment of PL 88-647 to drop the requirement that the senior ROTC officer be appointed "with academic rank of Professor" is not, in fact, likely to occur in the near future since the current mood of Congress "is not conducive to any reduction in terms of that law." This being the case, the expectation expressed in the Committee's May Report is no longer valid.

Secondly, the Colonel expressed concern that the title of the proposed "Faculty Committee to Oversee ROTC" suggests the capacity for and privilege of total supervision. (The words used here to describe the Colonel's concern are those of the Committee Chairman and not that officer's. It is believed that they in no way distort the sense he was trying to convey.) Certainly the Committee recognized the inability of the College to establish requirements which supercede federal statutes or Army regulations dealing with ROTC. In the event of continuation of ROTC, the Committee recommends, however, that a Faculty Committee on ROTC, composed of Faculty, students, a member of the Administration, and a member of the ROTC staff be established to insure:

1. A continuing liason between the ROTC unit and the Faculty.

2. The effective transfer of information about ROTC to the Faculty and students.

3. That the terms of the contract between the College and the Department of the Army reflect insofar as possible the objectives of both parties, especially with respect to:

a. The general educational aims of the College

b. the concerns and interests of the faculty and of the students

c. the concerns and interests of the ROTC staff and the students involved in ROTC.

Thirdly, the Colonel expressed the hope that ROTC courses at Middlebury would be appraised for credit under the same standards applied to other courses and that members of the ROTC staff might develop "a desirable element of on-campus participation" through being full members of the Faculty, i.e., having a vote at Faculty meetings. Here, the Committee feels wholly cognizant of the positions taken by the Faculty at its February meeting. The Faculty made it quite clear that it believed no credit should be given for ROTC courses and no vote in Faculty meetings should be extended to the ROTC staff.

This Report should not end without recognition of the fact that Dean Peterson did interview the two incoming Army Captains assigned to the Middlebury ROTC unit this fall. This clearly indicates an effort on the part of the College to develop an orderly appraisal procedure for ROTC staff appointments, as already exists for other candidates being considered.

Respectfully submitted for
The Faculty Committee on ROTC.
David K. Smith
Chairman

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Editorial

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cides to act as a training and recruitment center for the armed forces it enters into a binding contractual relationship with a branch of the Defense Department.

Under the terms of its present contract, the College agreed to establish a "Department of Military Science" as an integral part of its academic and administrative structure and to adopt courses of military instruction as part of its curriculum.

In addition, the College must provide academic credit for courses and a full professorship for the senior commissioned ROTC instructor. It must schedule ROTC classes just as any others and provide, free of charge, classroom and office space. The college even has its own procurement quota; it is required "to produce a minimum of twenty-five officers each year."

Strict Terms

The terms of the contract are determined by a federal statute (the 1964 Revitalization Act) which Congress shows no inclination to amend. Thus the College has placed itself in the position where it no longer has control over a part of its own educational program; it would be illegal for Middlebury to make ROTC an extra-curricular activity or to relieve Professor of Military Science James Hefti of his bogus title.

And thus also it may well be impossible for the college to create a permanent committee with the power to "oversee" ROTC as part of the modified, non-credit arrangement described in the ad hoc committee report.

There are, of course, many other schemes, hatched by both the academic community and the Army, to eliminate the most objectionable features of ROTC (the presence of drill, guns, uniforms, etc. on campus) and to further integrate the program into the curriculum.

None of these plans can avoid the hard fact of the contract that must exist between the educational institution and the Army — and the even harder fact of the restrictive law behind the contract. The only way to end the entire legal entanglement is to give the Army the one year's academic notice required, and then terminate the contract.

3. THE COLLEGE'S ROLE?

The very existence of such a contract raises other serious questions about the function of the college, its role in society and its relationship to the government.

Some of the same academicians who defend ROTC also embrace the concept of the university as a "value free" institution, a politically neutral entity which, in keeping with the principal of academic freedom, acts as a forum for the expression of all points of view.

However, just as it is a political act for the university to oppose or to be indifferent to the government, the university acts politically when it supports the government. And that is what Middlebury is doing when it allows ROTC to remain on campus. The College has responded to the government's request that it share part of the responsibility for the national defense by helping to train the officers who will lead the nation's army.

It is, in Dean O'Brien's words, purportedly fulfilling "a collective demand of the society," a demand which he admits "the Vietnam war has called into grave question." The college community has not admitted this, however, and it has not begun to re-examine its relationship with ROTC in light of the war.

A Necessary Demand?

The College's position is still one of automatic support for the government and the military, and whatever uses they both choose to make of the ROTC officers produced here.

While the college should serve as a constant critic of the norms and values of society, this college has never once even questioned the validity of society's "collective demand" that the training and recruitment of Army officers take place on university campuses.

While properly the university should act as a democratizing and humanizing force, this college has acted as an accomplice to America's brutal military involvement in Southeast Asia and the dangerous expansion of the size and influence of the American military establishment both at home and abroad.

When the College should have been taking a dissenting position, criticizing old policies and proposing new ones, the students and faculty were instead debating whether or not to remove academic credit from two semesters worth of military science courses.

4. ROTC AS A "SERVICE FUNCTION"

Some people, Dean O'Brien among them, have attempted to defend ROTC on the grounds that it is a vital service to students. ROTC is acknowledged as an anomaly, but retained on campus because it provides a minority of male students with a convenient way of meeting their military obligation.

This rationalization merely underlies both the coercive effects of the draft on ROTC recruitment and the elitist nature of the officer corps which ROTC produces. Not only can college undergraduates evade the draft by simply being undergraduates, they can join ROTC and evade the draft (and possible service in an enlisted status) after they graduate.

(Even with the threat of the draft, however, the ROTC ranks at Middlebury have fortunately been dwindling. 52 seniors graduated with commissions last June. Only 35 will next June. In the Junior class, there are currently 21 cadets and, among sophomores, only 15.)

In a letter to **The Campus** last November, English Instructor William Kerrigan had this to say about ROTC as a "service function" of the College:

As defined in all of Middlebury's handbooks and catalogues, college education is for Athenians and not Spartans. Taking apart a rifle blindfolded is not one of the liberal arts. Polishing your brass is not humane learning. A teacher is nothing like a commander: he does not issue orders and he does not teach you how to kill.

While part of the college is trying to teach students to recognize propaganda, the men in ROTC are watching Army training films, reading Army training manuals, and taking examinations on the material they contain. Uniforms, guns, insignias, drills, marches, commanders and commands — these have nothing to do with education.

The presence of ROTC is not an issue of free speech insofar as the Army itself subverts the constitutional freedoms of free men. ROTC asks us to treat the Army as part of our college. But what happens when someone tries to treat his college education as part of their Army? Think of Captain Levy and all those other men who have tried to speak freely in an institution which does not allow free speech.

Of course certain students desire and enjoy the ROTC program. But at the expense of contradicting its own nature, no school is required to satisfy the demands of its students.

5. ROTC AS A SYMBOL

Finally, ROTC should also be opposed as a symbol of the increasing militarization of our society, a frightening new development which has perhaps been best described by General David M. Shoup, a former member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and a former Commandant of the Marine Corps. (See "The New American Militarism," The Atlantic Monthly, April, 1969.)

Removing ROTC from the campus for this reason, of course, flies in the face of the prevailing rationalization for the program offered by liberal academicians and the Army alike. ROTC, we are told, is our best defense against militarism.

In the opinion of a recent New York Times editorial, on-campus military training is an invaluable safeguard because it produces "an adequate pool of educated, civilian leadership within the armed forces. The alternative would clearly be a vastly expanded professional officer corps, with the threat of a steadily enlarged vested interest group inside the military."

Officer Corps Threat

According to General Shoup, and others who have studied the situation closely, an "influential nucleus of aggressive, ambitious professional military leaders" already esists — and is partially responsible for the growth of American interventionism, the continuing disaster of Vietnam, the spiraling pressures of the nuclear arms race, and our immensely expensive military and industrial defense complex.

ROTC is a symbol then of all these things, just as the symbolic targets on other campuses have included secret contracts with the CIA or the IDA, and the millions of dollars in defense-oriented research grants which so tragically reflect the grossly distorted priorities of our national budget.

Time to Protest

The only course for colleges and universities across the country is to speak out and protest. Middlebury can best hope to affect the perilous direction of the nation by disassociating itself with ROTC and making it clear that, by doing this, the College is disassociating itself with the policy the government is pursuing in Vietnam and the entire trend of the society.

In this way, continuing and widespread public opposition can be built up against the war and the war machinery — ABM, MIRV, chemical and biological weaponry, etc. — that individuals feel so powerless to oppose. For it is only through reassertion of civilian control by the Executive branch and larger spending cuts by Congress that the threat of an aggressive militarism can be averted.

A Real Attack?

Those who perceive the attack on ROTC as a serious threat to our national security usually also agree with the defense planners who tell us that America needs the world's largest military force — 3.5 million men — so that we can fight simultaneously, if necessary, a major land war in Europe, a major land war in Asia, and a "brush fire" war in Latin America or elsewhere.

Banishing ROTC from this, or any other college and limiting the largest current source of trained officers would not substantially affect the war effort.

Even if ROTC was thrown off every college and university campus in the country, the armed forces could still get the same number of officers through the draft and a greatly expanded officer candidate school system or through ROTC programs conducted off-campus and during the summer. The officers they would get would still be liberally educated college men, though for them, as for the military it would no doubt be a less convenient arrangement.

But then, Middlebury and all the other colleges and universities in America should never have made things more convenient for the government and society in the first place. In the words of the editors of **The New Republic**, "One expects the university to set the true perspective, to serve itself and society by demanding that society see itself as it is and could be."

This is what Middlebury can attempt to do by ending its ties with the Army and removing ROTC from the campus.

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